TL 4893

Memo

To: All

From: Jose Ramos-Horta
Special Representative, CNRM

Date: 26.11.91

Subject: Reflection on international response and some guidelines for action

1. Official international response to the Sta. Cruz massacre and subsequent killings has been "low key". Only Portuguese public reaction can be considered strong.

2. As of today, the American Administration has not condemned the massacre. Nor has the Japanese government. Apart from the common statement by the EC only Spain made an additional separate statement condeming the massacre. The Netherlands is cutting new aid to Indonesia but how much is there still in the pipeline?

3. Some voices are being added - the Scandinavians might issue a joint statement in the next few days. Sweden and Norway have already condemned the massacre. Hungary will issue a statement today.

5. We need to multiply our action. The following are some ideas on how to explain and argue about the Sta. Cruz massacre and some concrete suggestion for action:

* The Sta. Cruz incident was not an isolated incident. It followed a pattern of massacres. The only difference was that this time cameras and foreign eyewitnesses were there.

* The Sta. Cruz massacre was a planned, premeditated action sanctioned by the highest authorities in Jakarta.

* The so-called Indonesian military commission of investigation must be denounced for what it is.

* Investigation must be conducted by an impartial international body, under a well respected personality, preferably from the Third World - maybe Archbishop Desmond Tutu - with the cooperation of agencies such as Amnesty International, Asia Watch, International Commission of Jurists, Institute for the Defence of Human Rights (Jakarta). Prof. Quisumbing, from the Philippines, former Chairman of the U.N. Human Rights Commission, could be the Rapporteur. However, who is to take up the task of getting this off the ground? I think CIIR, AI, Asia Watch, ICJ should be approached to discuss it and begin to work on it immediately. I believe CIIR and/or AI should initiate the contacts.

* A consortium of NGOs must request to go to East Timor immediately independently of the above for two purpose: to bring humanitarian assistance and to collect information. It should not wait for Indonesia's permission. The group should gather in one departing point, Darwin, Hongkong, Bangkok, etc and leave for Jakarta or Denpassar. Media should be mobilized to accompany. Chances are that the group would be thrown out. But let the Indons do it. Do not discard an idea because you think the Indons might not let you in.

* We should not wait and expect Indonesia to let people in. We must go ahead and send groups of individuals and let Indonesia stop them in Denpassar or Kupang. Always warn your Government, Embassy in Jakarta, media about your action.

* Mme Danielle Mitterrand is trying to put together a group of international personalities to got to East Timor - herself, Jimmy Carter, Princess Anne, etc. I don't know how this is going.

* This and other actions would serve to put East Timor in the spotlight, pressure on Indonesia and international community.

* Demonstrations must be held at US, French, British, Dutch, German Embassies wherever possible to denounce arms sales, call for trade and aid sanctions, etc.

* Leaflets, posters of the massacre must be printed, distributed, placed in train stations, bust stops, etc calling for boycott of tourism to and goods of Indonesia.

* In Australia and New Zealand, student unions must be asked to call on students, academics, the public to boycott Indonesian goods, travel to Indonesia, etc.

* Development NGOs and others such as Ford must be forced to rethink their whole presence in Indonesia. Special pressure must be put on the World Council of Churches to take a strong stand.

6. As you know, the Secretary-General responds to Governments. Hence, I suggest you concentrate your efforts on your national parliament, government, media, NGOs, etc. Organize letter campaign to your MPs, Government, etc.

7. The most recent letters sent by Xanana Gusmao, dated 15 and 17 November, continue to support negotiations without pre-conditions. Excerpts will be faxed separately.

8. I am continuing to insist on a meeting of the Security Council. However, more lobby need to be done before a meeting is called. On the other hand, I believe that pressure on national parliaments and governments are more effective and might bring speedier action on arms embargo, trade sanctions, etc.

9. The Portuguese Government is making serious efforts to get the 25-member Council of Europe and the 12-member EC to take stronger stand.

10. We are now preparing for a major assault on Indonesia in the next HRC meeting in February. Key eywitnesses to the Sta. Cruz massacre must be brought to Geneva to testify. If your country is a member of the Commission do not fail to pressure your government to make a statement in the Commission condemning the massacre and voting for the resolution.

11. Call on local NGOs with consultative status with ECOSOC to devote at least part of their statements on East Timor.

12. On the Timorese side, I hope Roque Rodrigues, Jose Luis Guterres and myself will attend the Commission.

13. Depending on developments, a SC meeting in January might be more plausible when Cape Verde becomes a member.

14. In Portugal we are asking for substantial financial support for the Resistance to enable the Resistance to defend itself.

15. The suggestions above are not listed by priority. You will determine what is feasible and a priority in your respective country.

END